

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 08026

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS PARM
SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 24, 1978
(SALT TWO-1762)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, MAY 24, 1978

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION INTENDS TO DRAW THE
ATTENTION OF THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE DEFINITION OF
CRUISE MISSILES AND THEIR RANGE IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF
THE DRAFT TREATY.

AGREED PROVISIONS ON THIS SCORE MUST BE AN IMPORTANT
PART OF THE SET OF LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES WITH
A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS, BEING ESTABLISHED
UNDER THE DOCUMENT BEING PREPARED.

CONSISTENT WITH THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE BY
THE SOVIET SIDE CONCERNING ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE
DRAFT TREATY, PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED, WHICH
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PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE
FUTURE IN THE AREA UNDER CONSIDERATION. ANALYSIS CONFIRMS
THIS.

ACCORDING TO THIS PROPOSAL, CRUISE MISSILES ARE ANY
SELF-PROPELLED, GUIDED MISSILES WHICH SUSTAIN FLIGHT
THROUGH THE USE OF AERODYNAMIC LIFT OVER MOST OF THEIR

FLIGHT PATH. THIS FORMULATION PROVIDES THE SIDES WITH A PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED.

I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT IN THIS CONTEXT USE OF THE TERM "WEAPON-DELIVERY VEHICLES" IS INAPPROPRIATE, SINCE IT COULD BECOME A SOURCE OF AMBIGUITY IN TERMS OF ENSURING CONFIDENCE THAT THE SIDES STRICTLY COMPLY WITH THE RELEVANT OBLIGATIONS.

IN FACT, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DEFINING CRUISE MISSILES, WHAT IS BEING ADVANCED HERE IS THE CONCEPT OF SEPARATING CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS INTO NUCLEAR-ARMED AND NON-NUCLEAR-ARMED MISSILES. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED SUCH A CONCEPT, AND THIS IS RECORDED IN THE FOOTNOTE TO ARTICLE III OF THE PROTOCOL TO THE TREATY. I MUST REAFFIRM THAT THE PROPOSED SEPARATION IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. IT IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC SITUATION AND THE INTERESTS OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

RATIONALE HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

NOW ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE.

THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THE DRAFT AGREED STATEMENT
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TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE TREATY, REVISED WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED HERE, PROVIDES THAT THE RANGE OF A CRUISE MISSILE IS THE MAXIMUM DISTANCE WHICH CAN BE COVERED BY THE MISSILE IN ITS STANDARD DESIGN MODE FLYING UNTIL FUEL EXHAUSTION, DETERMINED BY PROJECTING ITS FLIGHT PATH ONTO THE EARTH'S SPHERE FROM THE POINT OF LAUNCH TO THE POINT OF IMPACT.

SUCH AN APPROACH, BASED ON CRITERIA THAT ARE UNAMBIGUOUS AND VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING ON CRUISE MISSILE LIMITATION WHICH PROVIDES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF 600 AND 2,500 KILOMETER LIMITS AND ENSURES STRICT COMPLIANCE WITH THESE LIMITS BY BOTH SIDES.

AND, CONVERSELY, INCLUSION IN THE FORMULATION BEING WORKED OUT OF SUCH CRITERIA AS "OPERATIONAL RANGE," "EFFECTIVE TARGET ENGAGEMENT" AND "OPERATING IN ITS FULL-SYSTEM /MODE/," WOULD DEPRIVE THE CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION OF THE NECESSARY UNAMBIGUITY, AND IN PRACTICAL TERMS WOULD LEAD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCEEDING

THE ESTABLISHED 600 AND 2,500 KILOMETER LIMITS AS A RESULT OF THE MANEUVERING MENTIONED HERE BY THE U.S. SIDE. SUCH AN APPROACH IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE OVERALL TASK OF WORKING OUT LIMITATIONS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

FURTHERMORE, THE SOVIET SIDE FIRMLY ADHERES TO THE VIEW THAT THE CRUISE MISSILE DEFINITION AS WELL AS THE CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE TREATY ITSELF, NAMELY IN ITS ARTICLE II, WHICH CONTAINS

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EXDIS, USSALTTWO

DEFINITIONS OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS BEING LIMITED. AFTER ALL, CERTAIN LIMITATIONS, VERY IMPORTANT ONES AT THAT, ON CRUISE MISSILES WITH A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS ARE AN INTEGRAL AND ORGANIC PART OF THE TREATY, AND THESE LIMITATIONS WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT FOR THE ENTIRE TERM OF THE TREATY, I.E., TO THE END OF 1985. THEREFORE, THE CORRESPONDING DEFINITIONS MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE TREATY, AND NOT IN THE PROTOCOL WHICH HAS A MORE LIMITED TERM, NAMELY THREE YEARS.

A CAREFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH, CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, IS REQUIRED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES AND THEIR RANGE UNDER ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE DRAFT.
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